

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 047629

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 3394 ACTION SECSTATE FEB 23.

QUOTE: S E C R E T BONN 3394

NODIS

PLEASE REPEAT TO USNATO (IMMEDIATE), LONDON, PARIS AND
GENEVA (USSALTTWO)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO SALT GW

SUBJECT: NAC CONSULTATIONS ON SALT AND ERW

REF: BONN 3324

1. PFEFFER INFORMED US LATE THIS AFTERNOON (FEBRUARY
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23) OF THE RESULTS OF TODAY'S INTERNAL CONSULTATIONS
IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE (IN WHICH NATO AMBASSADOR PAULS
PARTICIPATED) ON HOW TO HANDLE THE ENHANCED RADIATION
WARHEAD CONSULTATIONS IN THE NAC TOMORROW. AN
INSTRUCTION IS NOW GOING OUT FOR AMBASSADOR VON STADEN
TO DISCUSS FRG THINKING ON AN URGENT BASIS WITH
ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST, HENCE THIS MESSAGE SHOULD BE

CONSIDERED ONLY AS ADVANCE NOTICE AND NOT AS A DEFINITIVE EXPRESSION OF THE FRG POSITION.

2. NOTING THAT WE HAD STATED, BOTH HERE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT, THAT WE DID NOT EXPECT AN ALLIANCE DECISION ON OUR THREE-STAGE PROPOSAL TOMORROW, THE FRG HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE OPTIMUM WAY TO PROCEED -- AND VON STADEN WAS TO PROPOSE THIS -- WOULD BE FOR THE US TO TABLE ITS PROPOSAL AND INTERPRET IT, THEN ASK THE PERMREPS TO TAKE IT HOME AND THINK IT OVER. THERE WOULD BE NO DISCUSSION TOMORROW, BUT PERMREPS WOULD BE ASKED TO OBTAIN NATIONAL POSITIONS WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT A FOLLOW-UP NAC MEETING.

3. PFEFFER EXPLAINED TWO REASONS FOR THIS GERMAN POSITION. FIRST OF ALL, IT WOULD AVOID AN UNBALANCED OR PERHAPS EVEN CONTROVERSIAL DISCUSSION TOMORROW, WHEN MANY DELEGATIONS MIGHT EXPRESS CONCERNS OR ALARMS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS. SECOND -- AND IT WAS CLEAR THIS WAS THE PRIMARY CONSIDERATION -- THE BASIC CONCERN OF THE CHANCELLOR WAS THAT THERE BE NO APPEARANCE THAT THE FRG WAS TAKING THE LEAD IN FAVOR OF A DECISION FOR THE ERW. ANY FRG DECISION, GIVEN IN ADVANCE OF THAT OF OTHER ALLIES, MIGHT LEAK FROM THE NAC DISCUSSIONS, WITH THE
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RESULTANT DANGER THAT THE LEFT WING OF THE SPD WOULD ATTACK THE CHANCELLOR. PFEFFER HAD HEARD IT SAID THAT THERE MIGHT BE AS MANY AS 50 SPD DEPUTIES WHO WOULD PART COMPANY WITH THE CHANCELLOR ON THIS ISSUE -- A RISK HE COULD NOT TAKE. IT WAS ESSENTIAL, THEREFORE, THAT THE ALLIANCE MOVE AHEAD TOGETHER TOWARD A POSITIVE DECISION. AS THE FRG WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SPEAK TO THE ISSUE TOMORROW IT WOULD SEEM PREFERABLE TO AVOID OTHER STATEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE NEGATIVE.

4. PFEFFER SAID THAT, IF THE FRG PROPOSAL WERE FOLLOWED, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO WORK INFORMALLY BEFORE THE NEXT NAC SESSION TO PREPARE THE TEXTS WHICH WOULD BE USED TO ANNOUNCE THE NATO DECISION -- EITHER A US TEXT ON PRODUCTION AND ARMS CONTROL WITH A SEPARATE TEXT EXPRESSING THE SUPPORT OF THE ALLIES, OR POSSIBLY A SINGLE ANNOUNCEMENT COVERING ALL THREE ELEMENTS. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT MAKE SOME INFORMAL PROPOSALS IN A PRIVATE MEETING OF PERMREPS.

5. AN INSTRUCTION ALONG THE ABOVE LINES, PFEFFER SAID,

WAS ON ITS WAY UP TO BLECH, VAN WELL AND GENSCHER.

6. WE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE FRG OBJECTIVE AND OF THE FRG FEELING THAT IT SHOULD NOT RISK BEING OUT IN FRONT. WE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT TOTAL FRG SILENCE MIGHT ALSO BE TAKEN AS A SIGNAL THAT IT WAS NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THE US POSITION. THIS IN TURN COULD STRENGTHEN THE POCKETS OF OPPOSITION WHICH EXIST ELSEWHERE IN THE ALLIANCE. WE WONDERED, THEREFORE, WHETHER THERE WAS AN IN-BETWEEN ROUTE: COULD NOT THE FRG SPOKESMAN AT LEAST STATE THAT THE FRG HAD BEEN WRESTLING WITH THE PROBLEM ALREADY, THAT THE US PROPOSAL HAD A CERTAIN LOGIC TO IT, AND THAT THE FRG WOULD EXAMINE IT POSITIVELY ON AN URGENT BASIS?

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7. ON OUR RETURN TO THE EMBASSY, PFEFFER TELEPHONED TO STATE THAT HE HAD TRIED OUT OUR IDEA ON BLECH AND THAT IT WOULD BE DISCUSSED SHORTLY WITH GENSCHER. HE ASKED THAT WE DELAY REPORTING IN THE INTERIM. HE HAS NOW CALLED AGAIN STATING THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE MEETING WITH GENSCHER, THE DRAFT INSTRUCTION TO VON STADEN WAS MODIFIED SLIGHTLY. THE FOREIGN OFFICE NOW AGREES TO LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF A BRIEF POSITIVE STATEMENT WELCOMING THE US PROPOSAL IN GENERAL TERMS. WHETHER SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE WOULD DEPEND PRIMARILY ON THE REACTION OF THE OTHER ALLIES.

8. ON HIS LAST CALL PFEFFER SUGGESTED THAT, ON SECOND THOUGHT, IT MIGHT ONLY CONFUSE MATTERS IF WE WERE TO SEND THIS REPORT SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE INSTRUCTION TO VON STADEN. WE TEND TO AGREE AND REITERATE THAT THE FOREGOING IS SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ADVANCE NOTICE OF THE GENERAL THRUST OF VON STADEN'S CALL. MEEHAN
UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

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